

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

AID-05 /086 W

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R 100830Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1476

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

CINCPAC, HONOLULU, HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9252

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJ: MIKI VISIT PAPER: JAPAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

EA/J FOR SHERMAN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. JAPANESE POSITION -- THE GOJ REGARDS A CONTINUED U.S.
PRESENCE IN SE ASIA AS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAINING ASIAN STABILITY
AND COUNTERING EFFORTS BY PEKING, MOSCOW OR HANOI TO ESTABLISH
PRIMACY IN THAT AREA. GOJ CONTINUES TO REGARD U.S. AND JAPANESE
INTERESTS AND OVERALL OBJECTIVES IN SE ASIA TO BE COMPLEMENTARY.
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2. AFTER VIETNAM, THE GOJ BELIEVES THAT STRONG, RESILIENT LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS IN THE ASEAN STATES WILL BE BEST MEANS LOCALLY FOR
RESISTING EXTERNAL ENCROACHMENT AND IN COUNTERING DOMESTIC
INSURGENCIES. TO HELP STRENGTHEN FRIENDLY NATIONS, JAPAN HOPES

TO INCREASE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ASEAN STATES, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH THE GOJ REGARDS AS MORE THREATENED OR IN WHICH JAPAN HAS MOST INTEREST--THAILAND AND INDONESIA. THESE EFFORTS ARE EXPECTED TO FIT LOCAL DESIRES AND NOT TO SUPPLANT U.S. INTERESTS AND ASSISTANCE.

3. JAPAN IS CURRENTLY WORKING TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE NEW COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN INDOCHINA. THIS IS NOT A NEW POLICY, NEGOTIATIONS WITH HANOI TO OPEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS HAVING BEEN UNDERWAY SINCE 1973. GOJ HAS MAINTAINED PRESENCE IN SAIGON SINCE ITS FALL AND IS TALKING WITH PRG ABOUT ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. GOJ SEES ITS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH TIES WITH INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS AS NOT ADVERSE TO LONGER TERM U.S. INTERESTS. JAPAN'S OBJECTIVES WILL BE A) TO PRESERVE A NON-COMMUNIST PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE IN INDOCHINA, LESSENING INDOCHINA'S NECESSITY FOR TOTAL DEPENDENCE ON THE COMMUNIST NATIONS; B) TO DEVELOP AND MAINTAIN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH AND INFORMATION FROM THE INDOCHINESE STATES. IN THE ABSENCE OF DIRECT U.S. PRESENCE, GOJ OFFICIALS DESCRIBE SUCH A CHANNEL AS ONE AVAILABLE FOR U.S. USE; C) FINALLY, JAPAN IS INTERESTED IN WHATEVER COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS CAN BRING AND WILL PROVIDE LIMITED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO EARN ENTREE. PRICE TAG FOR RELATIONS WITH HANOI LIKELY TO BE SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 12 AND 14.5 BILLION YEN. JAPANESE HAVE BEEN CAREFUL IN NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR THAT CONTENT OF THEIR AID NOT CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER ADVENTURISM BY HANOI, AND THEY ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE CAUTIOUS ON THIS POINT.

4. RECOGNIZING THAT THE U.S. ROLE IN INDOCHINA FOR THE MOMENT IS RESTRICTED TO SMALL PRESENCE IN LAOS, THE GOJ HOPES NEVERTHELESS THE USG ITSELF WILL LEAVE ITS OPTIONS OPEN AND HOLD OUT THE POSSIBILITY FOR EARLY RECONCILIATION WITH INDOCHINA IF THOSE STATES CONCENTRATE ON INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION AND ESCHEW FOREIGN ADVENTURES EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH SURROGATE INSURGENCIES. MORE BROADLY, JAPANESE COUNTING ON US TO PURSUE ACTIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICY IN SEA PARTICULARLY IN ASEAN COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH GOJ STILL UNSURE AS TO EXTENT AND NATURE OF OUR ROLE.

5. RECOMMENDED U.S. POSITION--AFTER PM MIKI'S VIEWS ON SITUATION IN SEA AND JAPANESE POLICY IN REGION HAVE BEEN SOLICITED, PM SHOULD BE TOLD, ALONG LINES OF KISSINGER JAPAN SOCIETY SPEECH:

--U.S. LOOKING TO FUTURE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH INDOCHINESE STATES. HANOI'S PAST RECORD FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR U.S. TO MAKE ANY MOVES FOR A WHILE, BUT OUR ACTIONS WILL BE BASED ON FUTURE DRV BEHAVIOR IN REGION RATHER THAN PAST ACCORDS VIOLATED.

--II MEANTIME, WE UNDERSTAND WHAT JAPAN IS TRYING TO ACCOM-
PLISH IN WORKING TOWARD RELATIONS WITH HANOI, PRG AND PHNOM PENH.
WE CANNOT, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, ENDORSE JAPANESE EFFORTS
PUBLICLY, BUT WE NOT CONSIDERTHEM ANTITHETICAL TO U.S.
INTERESTS.

--THE UNITED STATES ENDORSES THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT
THE JAPANESE ENVISAGE IN THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, WHICH IS
SIMILAR TO THAT OF UNITED STATES.

--BOTH COUNTRIES SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO CONSULT
REGULARLY AND COORDINATE EFFORTS IN REGION.
HODGSON

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